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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p,
Sociological Background

# HEALTH AND SANITATION

## I. BACKGROUND

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744 During the War of Resistance against Japan, while a major part of China was under the domination of Japan and Japanese-controlled puppet governments, Southwest China emerged as the base of operations of the Chinese government. The city of Chungking in Szechwan Province became China's wartime capital. With the air-route over the Himalayas and the opening of the Burma Road, the Southwest Region also furnished China important lines of communication with the outside world. Following the moving of government to Chungking, government organizations and workers moved in. Taking refuge from the Japanese, numerous educational and cultural institutions moved to the Southwest and settled in their temporary quarters in Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow, and Sikang. Although this worked hardship on both the natives and the newcomers, it gave an opportunity for a cultural fusion which was a great benefit to the Southwest. Along with this cultural invasion, modern medical and health organizations were given a chance to spread and expand at a faster pace in this region of China.

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751 In the four Southwest provinces, in 1947, there were 59 government health organizations at the provincial level, with 6,529 medical and health personnel. At the county level, there were 904 government health organizations.[1] As to preventive medical care, in the year 1946, 720,702 people received vaccinations against smallpox, 1,029,541 were inoculated against cholera, and 448,415 were inoculated against both cholera and typhoid by various government health agencies.[2] Statistical data are far from satisfactory for the presentation of a balanced picture of the health work and health conditions of the Southwest before 1949, particularly since figures for private practitioners and private institutions are not available; however, it is hoped that the few figures given above may serve as background. Furthermore, there are indications that all the achievements claimed by the Chinese Communist regime in health and sanitation are not completely new developments; many projects were begun under the Nationalist Government.

## II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

In July 1950, Ch'u T'u-nan, chairman of the Committee on Culture and Education of the

1. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, 344.
2. Ibid., p. 347.

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744 751 Southwest Military and Administrative Region, made a progress report.[3] On the basis of incomplete statistics, he claimed that in 1950 there were in the Southwest 43 public hospitals with 2,935 beds, 79 private hospitals with 2,573 beds, 130 county health bureaus and over 1,800 clinics. He also claimed that there were 2,395 doctors practicing modern medicine, 409 doctor's assistants, 46 dentists, and 2,920 doctors practicing traditional Chinese medicine. Reporting on the subject of preventive measures, he stated that in the spring of 1950 there were 927,800 persons vaccinated against smallpox, including 540,000 who received the service free; for this work 1,179 medical workers were mobilized. For the prevention of cholera and typhoid, 3,500,000 units of vaccine were used. He reported that 1,055,000 persons were given free service in this campaign by late July 1950.

[874] The report also disclosed that in the year 1949-50 seven new middle schools for the training of health workers, with a total enrollment of 1,100 students, were founded in the Southwest. In 1950, there were also 52 manufacturers of medical supplies in this region.

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3. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1950, p. 199; Wen-chiao T'san-kao Tzu-liao [Reference Material on Culture and Education, Series No. 10], Peking, Committee on Culture and Education, 1950, pp. 335-36.

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751 Ch'u's report indicated that the Communist regime was placing emphasis on prevention of disease, on improvement and restoration of organizations of health and sanitation, development of health programs for women and children, organization of health and medical workers, and dissemination of health knowledge and education. All these points of emphasis seemed to be in conformity with the general policies on health and sanitation set forth by the Central People's Government in Peking.

Two years later, in September 1952, Lu Chih-chün, vice-chairman of the Health Department of the Southwest Region, spoke on "The Development of the People's Health Work in the Southwest in the Past Three Years."[4] He began with acknowledgment of the guidance given by the Party and the government, and went on to "prove" that noticeable achievements had been accomplished in the Southwest in accordance with the general principles set forth by the Central People's Government. Since one important aspect of health work undertaken by Communist China was disease-prevention, this report placed stress upon preventive measures and enumerated those taken against contagious diseases in the Southwest Region.

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4. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, September 26, 1952, p. 3.

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751 Smallpox headed the list. To combat the possibility of an epidemic, 50,000,000 people were reported to have been given vaccination in the three years covered by the report. As a result, the threat of smallpox was greatly reduced. In twelve important cities, Chungking, Chengtu, Pei-p'ei, Wanhsien, Tzu-kung, Nan-ch'ung, Nei-chiang, and Wu-t'ung-ch'iao in Szechwan Province, and in Hsia-kuan and Ho-k'ou in Yunnan; Tsun-i in Kweichow; and Ya-an in Sikang (now incorporated into Szechwan), there were no smallpox epidemics in 1952.

Recurrent fever was second on the list. In 1951, preventive medical corps were sent into many localities for the prevention and treatment of this disease. At the same time the public was alerted to check its spread by exterminating fleas. Thus in Lung-ch'ang, a special district of Szechwan, the number of sufferers from this disease in the spring of 1952 was claimed to be only 7 per cent of the number so afflicted in the spring of 1951. In Pi-chieh, a special district of Kweichow, the number of people affected by recurrent fever in March 1952 was half the number reported in March in the preceding year.

Only slightly less common causes of epidemics in the Southwest were typhoid and cholera. To combat these epidemics, the chief measures were the disinfection of drinking water

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744 and the betterment of environmental hygiene.
751 Early preventive inoculations were also recommended. Lu Chih-chün claimed that there were no cases of cholera in the region and that the number of cases of typhoid had been greatly reduced.

Malaria was a common disease in the Southwest Region, according to the report. In addition to the promotion of environmental hygiene, malaria-prevention centers and malaria-prevention corps were established in the key cities in the four Southwestern provinces. Preventive centers for other local contagious diseases, such as bubonic plague and hookworm, were also established, according to Lu's report.

Referring to the improvement of health conditions in the Southwest, it was claimed that in large cities like Chungking and Chengtu that there were "fewer" people reported sick in 1952 than in 1951. Finally it was claimed that health centers had been established in 85 counties, and that the number of hospital beds in 1952 had been doubled since 1950.

## III. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

744 At the First Session of the First National People's Congress (1954), Li Teh-ch'uan (General Feng Yü-hsiang's widow), Minister of

744 Health, spoke on public health.[5] She reported that efforts to protect the health of mothers and children made much headway, and that the mortality rate of expectant mothers and infants had dropped. Special attention to the health of women and children is urged in a Chinese Communist document, "The Common Program." Article 48 of this document declares that "Public health and medical work shall be expanded, and attention shall be paid to the protection of the health [844] of mothers, infants, and children."[6] She reported that the training of midwives, the re-educating of "old-style" midwives, and the prevention of various childhood diseases have been stressed throughout China as well as in the Southwest.

To cite the municipality of Chungking, for example, by the middle of 1953 there were 26 health centers for women and children and 70 maternity stations with 684 midwives on duty. The practice of modern obstetrics showed a noticeable increase; modern methods were used in 10 per cent of the births in 1951, 30 per cent

5. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 41-42.

6. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

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744 in 1952, and 68.75 per cent in 1953. Vaccinations and inoculations against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tuberculosis were given to children. In the three-year period, 56,197 children were given B.C.G. shots and 96,293 children received preventive care against whooping cough. In the city there were 125 nurseries (including feeding rooms), caring for some 6,000 children.[7]

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## IV. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

744 563 The Southwest Region, like the Central-South Region, has a number of minority peoples scattered throughout it. Cultural advancement programs conducted by the Communist government among these groups are often publicized by the press. The government believes that through education and medical work it can exercise a strong control over minority nationalities areas.[8]

744 563 164 In August 1951, the Ministry of Health called the National Conference on Health of the Minority Nationalities. In this conference it

7. New China Daily, June 2, 1953, p. 3.

8. Kung-fei K'ung-chih-hsia-ti Kuei-chou [Kweichow Under the Control of the Communists], The Sixth Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, 1955, p. 15.

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744 563 164 was reported that the minority groups in both the Southwest and the Central-South suffered from malaria, cerebrospinal meningitis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. These contagious diseases took a heavy toll of lives and caused a serious loss of manpower. In Yunnan Province in 1950, from 64 to 94 per cent of the children of the minority peoples were affected with enlargement of the spleen, and 39 per cent had malarial parasites in their blood. The basic measures proposed for the improvement of health conditions in the minority nationalities were the establishment of additional public health agencies and the training of additional health workers.[9]

744 563 Two years later, twenty-five mobile health corps units had been formed and were serving the minority nationalities areas in Southwest China, according to Communist sources. Not only were the treatments and preventive injections said to have been administered free, but the dissemination of modern methods of sanitation and education in hygiene were the responsibility of these traveling medical workers. A special effort was made to train members of minority groups as health workers among their own people. Incomplete statistics for 1949-52

9. Current Background, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 152, pp. 5-7.

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744 563 claim that among minority groups in the Southwest Region, 98,406 people received free medical treatment and 72,900 people were given vaccination against smallpox.[10]

## V. THE PATRIOTIC HEALTH MOVEMENT

744 668 In 1952 the Communists launched the Patriotic Health Drive. It was designed primarily to integrate health work with the mass propaganda campaign which accused the United States of engaging in bacteriological warfare. The Patriotic Health Drive was, therefore, stimulated by the conflict in Korea and became a part of the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In the name of patriotism the Chinese people were called upon to clean their cities and work for the general improvement of environmental hygiene.

Upon the launching of the Patriotic Health Drive in April 1952, some 70 to 80 per cent of the population in the key cities of the Southwest Region were mobilized. According to statistics released in September 1952, the following accomplishments were claimed:

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10. New China Daily, Sept. 25, 1952, p. 3.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Refuse removed | 1,000,000 | tons |
| Flies exterminated | 20 | tons |
| Fly larvae destroyed | some | 70 tons |
| Mosquito larvae destroyed | some | 23 tons |
| Mosquitos exterminated | 190 | pounds |
| Ditches dredged and repaired | 868 | miles |
| Rats exterminated | 800,000 | |
| Rat holes sealed up | 96,619 | |
| Public comfort stations improved and constructed | 7,993 | |
| Wells improved and dug | 9,418 | |

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668 The Communists claimed to have used new types of rat traps, and more efficient ways of exterminating fleas and other pests were utilized. One activist of the Patriotic Drive, it was claimed, killed 9,000 flies in a single day and on the following day surpassed his own record by killing 13,900.[11] We must assume that the New China Daily, in enthusiasm for such a display of industry, has quoted approximate figures.

## VI. OBSERVATIONS

1. In 1953, the Patriotic Health Drive began earlier in the year. In many localities it was integrated with house-cleaning before the Chinese New Year. Instead of killing flies in the summer, the people were called upon to dig up and destroy fly larvae. To publicize these activities and accomplishments, the Party bureaucrats demanded further details with which to adorn their reports. One county government in Szechwan asked each village farmer to answer 120 questions. When exterminating rats, for example, the farmer was to classify them as being large, medium, or small. The weight of each rat was to be given; farmers were expected to give the length of the rats' bodies and the length of their tails.[12]

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11. New China Daily, Sept. 26, 1952, p. 3.
12. Ibid., June 7, 1953, p. 3.

744 668 Obviously the requirements for preparation of the reports grew ridiculous. This undue emphasis on detail, when one examines Chinese Communist statistical reports, seems to be a common failing of the bureaucratic mind. At times, the Chinese Communists themselves have criticized this frequent preoccupation with niggling details. An editorial entitled "On the Counting of Mosquitoes," which first appeared in the People's Daily (Organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), was later quoted by the New China Daily of Chungking.[13] The editorial states that acts as absurd as these should be regarded as the inevitable growing pains of a newly founded government during a period of national construction. Red tape and wasteful practices should be exposed; the value of self-criticism is not to be ignored. The editorial states, in conclusion, that both the weaknesses and strengths of Communist China should be carefully evaluated for the insight they will bring.

[[3]] 744 157 2. The southwestern provinces produce the majority of China's medicinal herbs. One of the principal tasks of the Chinese Communist health program was "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine."[14] The South-

13. Ibid.

14. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 923, pp. 42-43.

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744 west Region occupies a position of importance in the fulfillment of this aim. In 1952 a school
874 was founded in Chungking for the orientation of doctors trained in traditional medicine.[15]
In 1953, a special committee was set up to take charge of a study of Chinese medicine under the Chungking branch of the China Pharmaceutical
878 Society. The committee reported that, among the 233 species of medicinal herbs in common use, 80 per cent were found in the Southwest Region.[16]

On the basis of recent reports, the attempt "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine" may not be progressing smoothly. During the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work in Peking in 1955 it was reported that the conference criticized the "bourgeois" ideas of certain leaders in the Ministry of Health who were inclined to discriminate against and eliminate traditional medicine; the conference considered the attitude taken by the Ministry of Health toward traditional medicine a "very serious fundamental mistake."[17]

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15. New China Daily, Jan. 28, 1953, p. 3.
16. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1954, p. 2.
17. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 1068, p. 15.

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744 In a joint convention in Chungking, a similar
757 criticism was voiced.[18] Although many traditional practices have proved to be effective, it still remains to be seen to what extent the use of medicinal herbs can be justified by modern science. It also remains to be ascertained whether this enthusiasm for traditional medicine on the part of the Chinese Communists is more than an evanescent interest.

744 The health of the people of a nation depends on many factors. Preventive medical care or even a lower infant mortality rate does not necessarily mean the general betterment of public health. Malnutrition as the result of an inadequate diet may offset whatever has been accomplished by vaccinations and inoculations. Since little information is revealed in Chinese Communist publications, on the diet and nutrition of the people, it is necessary to point out that while reports on health and sanitation improvements on the mainland of China should not be discounted, other factors must also be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the general health of the Chinese people.[19]

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18. Ibid., No. 1012, Supplement, pp. 4-5.

19. For medical education and health in schools, see chapter on Education; for health and sanitation in the factories and among industrial workers, see chapter on Labor.

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731 and Five-Anti campaigns, 272,800 men were
668 mobilized and sent to fight in Korea from the four southwest provinces. Among the prisoners of war who chose to go to Formosa rather than return to Communist China, 5,184 men were from Southwest China.[10]

## III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

657 After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the
744 Central Relief Committee was formed (February 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were set up in the provinces and municipalities. Their existence, on the whole, have been in name only, and little relief work has been accomplished.[11]

During the convention of the All-China People's Relief Administration of China was organized as the successor to the China Liberated Areas Relief Administration. This was not a government department but a "People's" organization. Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun

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10. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
11. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists, pp. 5-6.

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657 Yat-sen) was elected chairman. It was this
744 organization which took over all U. S. charities after the outbreak of the war in Korea. In the organizing of branch offices, four years later it was reported that twenty-three large cities in all regions of China had branch offices of the People's Relief Administration. In Southwest China, branch offices have been established in Chungking and Chengtu in the province of Szechwan and in Kunming in the province of Yunnan. A special provincial branch office was also set up in Kweichow Province.[12] There have been meetings and conferences, but the only actual relief work to date has been the collection in 1950 of 6,800,000 outfits of winter clothing for the flood refugees in northern Anhwei.[13]

464 Due to the increase of unemployment, the
657 Labor Employment Committee was established in July 1952 under the Government Administrative Council. Regional Labor Employment Committees were established in August of the same year. Later similar committees were formed on lower administrative levels in the provinces, counties, and municipalities.[14]

12. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955. pp. 396-397.

13. Cultural and Social Movements, pp. 6-8.

14. Ibid., p. 8.

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| Lunar Month | Date | Name of the Occasion |
|---|---|---|
| 7th | 19th | Birthday of the God of Pao Miao |
| 8th | 1st | " " Chin Chia |
| " | 3rd | " " The Kitchen God |
| " | 15th | The Moon Festival (Mid-Autumn Festival) |
| " | 27th | Birthday of Confucius |
| 9th | 9th | " " Tou Mu |
| 10th | 15th | " " the God of Water |
| 10th | (Some time) | Visiting ancestral graveyards |
| 11th | 19th | Birthday of Sun God |
| 12th | 8th | " " Pa Ch'a |
| " | 23rd | The God of Kitchen reports to Heaven |
| " | 30th | New Year Eve. Offerings to various gods. |

Each of the above is an occasion of more less festivity in the form of offerings and feasting among those gathered in a small area of the town or from the entire village. These gatherings may either be purely male or female. In addition there are other occasions of more or less ritual significance. Scattered over the entire area are many temples of local patron gods (Pen Chu). Each of these gods governs the welfare of an area or of a village, has a surname, name, and birthday, such as the third of the first Moon, the 14th and 19th of the 4th Moon, etc. Each of these birthdays is an occasion of offerings, celebration and feasting at the temple for people of the area in which the particular patron god governs. On the first and fifteenth days of every month incense and food will be offered to these gods too. Then, three days after the birth of a child incense and food will be offered to these gods. On any day when a family is slaughtering a pig, incense will also be burned on family portals. Often a family calls in a priest to pray and read the scriptures for a day. This is called a Prayer for Blessing (peacefulness) and is performed on a small altar just outside of the family wall, in the street.

There are other occasions of emergency, as when a member of a family is seriously ill. On such occasions ritual offerings are usually made to one or other of the gods following advice given by a witch woman or a fortune teller. Finally, death of a family member brings with it, of course, many occasions of ritual significance.(4)

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Living Habits as regards Cleanliness. - There is no idea of personal hygiene or of public health as the West understands these terms. Personal habits of the people are like those in most other villages in China: drinking of unboiled water, eating exposed and uncooked food and raw vegetables, considering flies on food as a matter of course,(5) and taking no bath. Passing through West Town and its villages are many brooks formed by water running down from the gorges of Ts'an Shan. Usually on one or both sides of every street there are such streams. Each stream thus passes through many villages before finally reaching the lake. Such streams are the main places for washing not only rice and vegetables, meat and fish before cooking but also of clothes and night soil containers. Once the wife of a friend of the author

(4) The author does not think that the above list exhausts the total number of ritual occasions for inhabitants of this community. Walking through the streets during any evening the author would see at least several clusters of burning incense and ashes of burned paper money for spirits. The ones given are however the major occasions.

(5) Flies on food are called "food flies" without which a meal is regarded as improper.

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offended a local woman who was dispatching milk because the friend's wife washed the milk woman's measuring bowl before dipping it into the milk [illegible]. The milk woman's reason was that the bowl was carried on her body, just next to her under-clothes so it could not be dirty at all.

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Ideas about public health are lacking. Sickly dogs are seen everywhere; donkeys, horses and mules make a mess freely on every street. Children and adults enjoy their conveniences in the main thoroughfares or around any corner of any lane. No one even bothers to clean up the streets. Often poor farmers or their children come to the streets to gather up the human and animal excretion for fertilizer in the fields. About three years ago the missionary college and the local middle school organized a joint campaign on public hygiene. Teachers and students of both institutions carried out a general cleaning up of all the streets of the town and killed about fifty homeless and sickly dogs. Quite a number of the local inhabitants lent support to the effort. At the same time public lectures were given in the main streets by some of the students on the importance and significance of the campaign. For a period of time following the campaign the town was free from obvious dirt heaps, etc. But the old way of life returned gradually. Today no one even recalls this campaign.

[p. 7]

observances), pumpkin, egg plant, etc. It will be noted that this list includes practically all fresh fruit and vegetables from the field except cabbage, garlic, pepper and a few others.(13) 784 751

The fourth measure concerns the washing of clothes and of food stuffs. As stated before, the area is full of streams formed by water running down the mountain side before reaching the lake. As West Town is some distance from the foot of the mountains, most of these streams have run through several villages before reaching West Town. In these streams practically all villagers and residents in West Town wash their clothes, food stuffs before cooking or eating raw, and everything else that wants washing. Since all the villages through which these streams run use them for such purposes, the great danger involved is very apparent. When the epidemic becomes evident, practically all families automatically abstain from using these streams. 744 784

When asked about the reason the answer is that the measure is to clean up the area for the gods, because by washing clothes and food in these streams the people will have polluted the water which runs down from the Ts'ang mountains (where the God of Mountains resides) to Er Lake (where the God Dragon and his family reside).

This same reason – to clean up the area for gods – is also applied to the next two things. One is the sweeping up of dirt and the prohibition of animal soil in the streets; the other is that each family heaps up a dump of twigs, etc., in front of its portal and starts a thick smoke which lasts for hours every day. Normally, as we have seen, nobody cares to sweep the streets even within the area in which his own walls extend. The dirt heaps up or scatters about anywhere and the excrements left by animals passing through the streets are only collected by farmers for their store of fertilizer. Now animals are simply not allowed within the confines of the town. 203 744 784

This prohibition is announced in two types of notices: one by the local police bureau and another by the officers in charge of the various prayer meetings. The former puts up a set of notices everywhere in the town which reads as follows:

"Letting loose animals, or throwing about night soil or dirt, is strictly forbidden. The offendor will be prosecuted without leniency."

Signed (seal), the Experimental
Police Bureau, West Town.
(14th of May, 1943)

The second type of notices appears in every village or section of the town where a cholera prayer meeting is taking place. They usually read as follows:

"Pray and Abstain with all Earnestness,
"Dirt and Uncleanliness are Forbidden."

The smoking dumps in front of family portals are made of twigs, grass, 744 784

(13) The word "cold" here used has little to do with the temperature as in the West. It refers to an inner coldness which is only defined traditionally. Dr. Shen (F.P.), professor of medicine in the National Yunnan University, says that what the traditional Chinese call "cold" food is probably diarrhoea-causing food.

744 784 mora leaves, barley stalks, pine needles and some dirt swept up from the area in front of each family portal. When the twigs are lit the flame is stopped from shooting out by the other materials which are usually damp. This gives a thick smoke and a kind of fragrance which permeate the air.

As stated above, this smoking and the sweeping of streets are to clean up the area, not for human habitation but for the gods and spirits. They are thus means to a spiritual rather than bodily cleanliness. That this conception has nothing to do with modern ideas of sanitation may be seen from the fact that when a family woman goes to read scriptures or pray in a temple (a practice very common and frequent among elderly women in the entire district), she washes herself clean from hair to toes and will only touch meat or fish after the visit is over. She never takes a bath otherwise. When asked, a woman says that if she is not "clean" she will offend the gods or goddesses to which she is going to pray.

751 A fifth measure is the use of amulets. While the biggest cholera prayer meeting is taking place at Area H (Center of the town), each family secures an amulet (disseminated by individuals and obtainable at many native dispensaries) and hangs it on the family portal. Then on the fourth evening of the prayer the Wen God "inspects" the entire town and its surrounding villages in a procession consisting of regular policemen, buglers, guards and priests. The guards in this procession take down the amulet from each family portal as the procession passes by and hang it one by one on a driller-like thing in the right hand of the image of the god. They are then burned with the god and the dragon boat mentioned before. These amulets have the function of catching any Wen spirit which may attempt to dash into the family home. The Wen God, who had formerly let them forth, has thus collected them back. But there are other amulets and paraphernalia on family portals. Some of the family portals carry as many as five or six amulets from different sources. Practically all of them are bought from some priest at a price. A study of the elements contained in these amulets is not in order here. Suffice it to say that many of them are reiterations of the desired object (many amulets contain the characters Chieh Chieh, or relieving the disaster) while others write many times such characters as Sun, Fire, Water, Thunder, which usually represent the power to strike at evil spirits.

Following instruction of some priests, some families put one red flag on each lintel of the family portal as well. On both flags are written, "The heavenly priest protect us, diseases are wiped out", or "Fatal disasters vanish". The same ideas are then written on other pieces of red paper and posted on the gates and walls. One such paper says: "The heavenly priest is here, all evil spirits keep away." The families in one village particularly (Area P) hang straw dragons in addition to red flags of cloth on the lintels of their family portals. These, the villagers say, are for scaring away the Wen spirits, too. The presence of straw dragons in this village and their absence in other villages are interesting. It may be because this village is closer to the lake where the dragon god resides.

757 All these are individual measures of relief or precaution, but the most common and popular form of individual action is to secure "medicine" or "fairy water" from almost any source: temple, sacred spots, private individuals or dispensaries. We have seen some of the prescriptions, notices of charitable medicine, and moral advice posted for the benefit of the public. From the impressive quantity of such posters in the town and the villages and from the fact that many people secure the ready-made medicine given out

C. Modern Precautions

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The author wishes to make it clear that most of the measures stated above[1] do not happen one after another but rather more or less at about the same time. While all these traditional doings are going on a number of precautions of a distinctly "modern" flavor also come into play. We shall mention first the work of the police. As we have seen, the police put up a set of notices prohibiting dirt and animal soil from being left in the streets from the beginning of the epidemic. They also prohibit the sale of food like pea-curd served cold in the streets. These measures may be based upon a modern idea of prevention of the epidemic, but their behavior in other ways makes the observer feel uncertain about their ideological position. For the police do prohibit not only the above, they also prohibit the sale of raw fruit in the streets, and forcibly moved the meat market from its usual site in Area H or the center of the town, to a place just outside of the town's east gate. There is no other explanation for this measure than that at Area H a prayer meeting took place, and all dealings having to do with killing of life have to be kept away. Not only this, during the entire prayer meeting at Area H, the police force sent two special sentries to keep spectators from coming too close to the altar. And in the Wen God's nocturnal "inspection" of the town and villages a troupe of regular policemen in full equipment formed a part of the procession. Of course, for these duties the policemen were paid extra, and there is a Chinese proverb which says that money can move gods. Still, the position of the police force in this regard is not easy to define. The government of the sub-district (Chen Kung So) takes some steps also. One of their steps is a notice in some villages prohibiting the sale of "raw and cold food stuffs" or of "meat and fish". The other is a joint effort with the local middle school. The two bodies sent out inspectors to all families in the town and many surrounding villages to inspect the cleanliness of the houses and courtyards. Then the inspectors wrote with chalk on the gates of the families "clean", "very clean", "not clean", as the impression might be. They did not, however, take any further steps about the houses that were marked "not clean". The Chen Chang (head of the sub-district) stationed in West Town, enjoyed the admiring remarks passed on his calligraphy by the many spectators.

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The second kind of modernized precaution comes from private individuals. We have seen that in one native medical prescription the advertiser advises those who are not yet attacked to take cholera injection. How that advice came to be combined with a traditional prescription is yet to be conjectured, but the modern nature of the advice is undeniable. Similar advice is not lacking. One kind of poster says that the cholera epidemic is caused by the careless handling of patients' stools and vomited stuff so that other people are infected; and advises people to take care of all vomited stuff and all excretion, including urine, of the patients by burial underground or by burning. The last words in these posters are "Don't drink unboiled water." By the fact that the authors of these posters regard the urine of patients as infectious we may be certain that they are not thoroughly acquainted with modern ideas about cholera yet, but we have to assume that they undoubtedly know something about them. The interesting thing, however, is that at least one author of these posters is later found to be an officer in one of the cholera prayer meetings and had contributed a small sum toward its cost.

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The third type of modern precaution comes from the hospital, the missionary college, and the local middle school. As stated before, as soon as cases of cholera were discovered in the local hospital, the college authorities



[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

## CHAPTER IV

## ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

757 As stated before, all of the doings described in Chapter IV of this paper happened within the duration of the epidemic - about one month. Some occurred simultaneously. For example, the dates of several prayer meetings overlapped each other. And the prayer meetings were held as the volunteer prescriptions and moral advice spread. Some are supplementary to others. For example, the purification of the air by smoke, the cleaning up of the streets, the abstenance from meat and fish, and the disuse of the streams for washing purposes were all supplementary to the prayer meetings. They are means of avoiding the displeasure of the gods whose help is being invoked.

[744] Cleanliness, both public and private, as the modern world understands it, is not customary. And the relation of cleanliness to the avoidance of "choleric bacteria" is not at all conceivable in the culture.

[784] The taboo on a large number of vegetables and fruit may be said to be based upon sanitary ideas of a sort, but it is a sort different from what the modern man is accustomed to think of as scientific knowledge.

Closer to modern knowledge are some of the medicinal prescriptions. The analysis of their composition, as we have seen, shows that many elements would be effective in beating down the disease. But other prescriptions may be entirely useless or even fatal to the patient. The method of opening up finger tips to let out blood, for example, leads to bad infection and may render futile any application of modern treatment by serum. The drinking of the so-called "fairy water" from a cave in a hill is another alarming example. It may simply increase the rate of infection to a tremendous extent, and provide stimulus to such practices, as we have seen, as drinking unboiled water springing from an incense burner converted into a fountain.

The situation may be further analysed, as in the following diagram:

### DIAGRAM I

| Measures resorted to | Expected or Unexpected Results | Domain of the effect |
|---|---|---|
| Taboos on food (potato, string beans, turnip, all sour fruit, confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish, pumpkin, egg plant, etc.) | Ex.: "To please the gods"<br>"To avoid making abdomen cold"<br>Un.: Sanitation, or arrestation of the growth of the bacillus | Spiritual or Physical (the latter may be good or indifferent) |
| Taboo on dirt and animal and human soil in streets | Ex.: "To make the air and place clean for gods"<br>Un.: Sanitation | Spiritual or Physical (the latter is definitely good) |
| Insistence on morals | Ex.: "To purify the heart and so please the gods" | Spiritual |